



Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

THE ADVOCATE OF PEACE.

VOL. LVIII.

BOSTON, FEBRUARY, 1896.

No. 2.

THE AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY,
PUBLISHERS,
NO. 3 SOMERSET STREET, BOSTON, MASS.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
EDITORIALS	29 — 34
The Venezuelan Commission — Commission's Letter to Secretary Olney — The Improbability of War — The New Monroe Doctrine — The South African Trouble.	
EDITORIAL NOTES	34 — 38
Responsibility for Articles — Directors of American Peace Society — Secretary's Work — The Flying Squadron — German Naval Loan — Miss Barton — Cuban War — Wundsam's Book of Peace — Memorials of the Friends — Robert Stein's View — Program of the Deutscher Friedens-Verein — Oakland (Cal.) Institute of Applied Christianity.	
International Arbitration and Peace Association . . .	37
The Doctrine of Non-Interference, <i>By Prof. J. Dowd</i> .	37
Invigorating Influence of War, <i>By Rev. S. C. Bushnell</i> .	38
War or Peace, <i>By Rev. Charles Gordon Ames</i>	39
A High Court of Nations, <i>By Rev. S. F. Hershey</i> . .	41
A Joint Advisory Commission, <i>By Hon. Carl Schurz</i> .	42
Venezuelan Controversy, <i>By Charles Francis Adams</i> .	43
AMONG THE PAPERS	45
Harper's Weekly — Boston Commonwealth — Christian Work.	

THE VENEZUELAN COMMISSION.

There is no doubt, as the Hon. Carl Schurz said in his speech before the New York Chamber of Commerce, that the critical moment in the controversy between the United States and Great Britain over the Venezuela boundary question will come when the commission appointed by the President, under authority of Congress, to determine this boundary shall have made its report.

With the members of the commission, whose names were announced in our last issue, no fault can be found. They are men of wide experience, of eminent qualifications and of acknowledged fairness of disposition. No better choice could have been made. It has been freely granted on both sides of the water that President Cleveland has, by the selection which he has made, avoided all possible suspicion of having packed the commission in the interests of either party. The character of the commission has done much to remove from the British mind the feeling that this country is really anxious for war, but it has not changed the conviction of thoughtful men in both countries that the appointment and work of

the commission constitute the last stage toward what may prove to be a much more serious posture of affairs than we have yet seen.

The commission was appointed "to investigate and report upon the true location of the divisional line between the territory of the republic of Venezuela and that of British Guiana." We gave in our last issue our reasons for disapproving of the appointment of the commission, and of the series of events which led up to it. These we do not need to repeat here. There is one way in which the creation of the commission may be looked upon with favor. If the United States and Great Britain had to have a contest over the matter, it was of course wise to have this body of able and impartial men appointed as a committee of investigation. Time will thus be given for passions to cool, for reason to assert itself, and for the effort to be made to find ways of settling the dispute, not depending upon the report which the commissioners may make. But whatever may be the outcome of the present entanglement, we can not help fearing that the precedent set by the gratuitous appointment of this *ex parte* commission to determine the basis of settlement of a question between two other independent nations may be fruitful, in the present restless condition of the world, of great mischief in the relations of nations in the near future, the more so as our interference in this case professes to proceed on a purely selfish ground, that of our own interest and honor.

Many persons are not disposed to take the commission seriously. It is supposed that they will dodge the purpose for which they were appointed, and that the President expects them to do so. In that case the whole procedure will have been as contemptible as can well be conceived. No one of the commissioners could ever afterwards have the least title to respect. We are surprised that any thoughtful citizen can suppose such a course of action possible on their part. The President and Secretary Olney were serious. Congress, too, was serious, and the commission, which has already organized for work, will proceed about its business in a serious way and in due time make its report. This report, so far as we can see, can be in but one of four possible ways. They may decide in favor of the English con-

tention, or in favor of that of Venezuela, without modification. It is possible also that they may find the evidence to warrant them in drawing a new line which is neither of these, or that the evidence is so confused that they cannot determine "the true location of the divisional line."

It is useless to speculate as to which of these reports is most likely to be made, or as to what will be the consequence in each particular case. But it can not be denied that in at least one of the cases and possibly two the relations between the United States and Great Britain would almost certainly become immediately much more strained than they have yet been. It seems to us therefore that the friends of peace on both sides of the water ought to exert themselves in every possible way to bring about a condition of affairs which will render it unnecessary for the commission to report at all. Such a report might mean peace; we do not say that any report which they might make would actually result in war; but we do say that there is a point of real danger to be avoided. We sincerely hope therefore that the commission may be permitted to die among its maps and musty old documents and never make any report.

The joint commission of mediation proposed by Mr. Schurz would be admirable if it could be created. We doubt however whether either nation will yield in a way to make it possible. The demand in both countries for a peaceable settlement by arbitration has been and continues to be so great that we now believe it not only possible but very probable that a solution will soon be reached along this line. The discovery by the British Foreign Office that the Schomburgk line was never intended as a final and decisive boundary makes it possible for Lord Salisbury to recede from his refusal to arbitrate without any sacrifice of British honor, even from his own point of view. The readiness of the Foreign Office to put all the materials on the subject in its possession at the disposition of the Cleveland Commission, has been very kindly received at Washington, and there is a sincere hope among a very large number of our statesmen and citizens that Great Britain and Venezuela may be able to approach each other in such a way as to settle the dispute between themselves and let this country out of the matter entirely.

THE COMMISSION'S LETTER TO SECRETARY OLNEY.

Since the foregoing article was written Justice Brewer, who has been chosen chairman of the Venezuela Commission, has sent the following letter to the Secretary of State:

WASHINGTON, Jan. 15, 1896.

The Honorable Secretary of State:

Dear Sir—I have the honor to state that the commission appointed by the President of the United States

"to investigate and report upon the true divisional line between the republic of Venezuela and British Guiana" has organized by the election of Hon. David J. Brewer as its president and is entering upon the immediate discharge of its duties.

In so doing, it has, after careful consideration, concluded to address you on the question of securing, so far as possible, the friendly co-operation and aid of the two nations which are directly interested in the now pending boundary differences.

It must have suggested itself to you, as it no doubt has to the President, that this commission thus authorized to ascertain and report the boundary line between two foreign nations bears only a remote resemblance to those tribunals of an international character of which we have had several examples in the past. They were constituted by or with the consent of the disputants themselves, and were authorized by the parties immediately concerned to pronounce a final judgment. The questions at issue were presented by the advocates of the various interests, upon whose diligence and skill the tribunal might safely rely for all the data and the arguments essential to the formation of an intelligent judgment. Their functions were therefore confined to the exercise of judicial powers, and they might fairly expect to reach a result satisfactory to their own consciences, while it commanded the respect of those whose interests were directly involved.

The present commission, neither by the mode of its appointment nor by the nature of its duties, may be said to belong to tribunals of this character. Its duty will be discharged if it shall diligently and fairly seek to inform the executive of certain facts touching a large extent of territory in which the United States have no direct interest. Whatever may be the conclusion reached, no territorial aggrandizement, nor material gain in any form, can accrue to the United States. The sole concern of our government is the peaceful solution of a controversy between two friendly powers for the just and honorable settlement of the title to disputed territory and the protection of the United States against any fresh acquisitions in our hemisphere on the part of any European state.

It has seemed proper to the commission, under these circumstances, to suggest to you the expediency of calling the attention of the governments of Great Britain and Venezuela to the appointment of the commission, and explaining both its nature and object. It may be that they will see a way, entirely consistent with their own sense of international propriety, to give the commission the aid that it is, no doubt, in their power to furnish, in the way of documentary proof, historical narrative, unpublished archives or the like. It is scarcely necessary to say that if either should deem it appropriate to designate an agent or attorney, whose duty it would be to see that no such proofs were omitted or overlooked, the commission would be grateful for such evidence of good will, and for the valuable results which would be likely to follow therefrom.

An act of either government in the direction here suggested might be accompanied by an express reservation as to her claims, and should not be deemed to be an abandonment or impairment of any position heretofore expressed. In other words, and in lawyers' phrase, each might be willing to act the part of *amicus curiae*, and to throw light upon difficult and complex questions of fact, which should be examined as carefully as the magnitude of the subject demands.

The purpose of the pending investigation is certainly